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# West Europe Report

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3 April 1986

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POLITICAL

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

## DGB MEMBERSHIP INCREASES 0.9% IN 1985

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 22 Feb 86 p 5

[Unattributed article: "DGB Reports Membership Increase"]

[Text] Bonn, 21 February (AP)--For the first time in 4 years, membership in the labor unions belonging to the DGB rose again last year. According to a poll conducted by the ASSOCIATED PRESS, membership in the 17 constituent labor organizations totaled 7,727,000 at the end of 1985--which is 67,000 or 0.9% more than the year before. The highest membership figure ever attained by the DGB was 7,957,000 in 1981.

The greatest increase in 1985 was registered by the 2.55-million-strong metal workers union which gained 55,000 new members or 2.2%. The percentage increase was the same for the commerce, banking and insurance workers union. It now has 371,000 members and thereby took over the sixth spot in the DGB family from the railroad workers union. The transport workers and chemical workers union, which held on to their No. 2 and No. 3 positions, both managed to add 11,000 members during the past year.

Whether an individual union gained or lost members during the course of 1985 appears to have depended in the main on employment trends in that particular sector of the economy. Among the unions which lost members were the construction workers, the railroadmen, the textile workers and the miners as well as the teachers and scientists, the wood and plastics workers and the police. The hotel and restaurant employees and the postal workers unions managed to post gains.

Despite a loss of jobs in the shoe and leather industry, membership in the leather workers union rose by 1.5 percent to just under 50,000 which means that more than 50 percent of the labor force in that branch of industry was unionized for the first time ever. The reason given for this development by a union spokesman is said to be heightened awareness among leather workers due to repeated plant shutdowns.

In response to a query, a union spokesman traced the increase in union membership to the increase in the number of jobs during the past year. "Some of us refuse to accept the fact that the loss of jobs was the reason for the drop in our membership," the spokesman said. "So now we cannot really claim that the higher membership figures are all our own doing."

Because of problems in compiling membership figures the railroad workers and fine arts unions were only able to provide estimates, which are said to be reliable, however. By September 1985, the fine arts union was said to have lost almost 10 percent of its membership. According to the union, the reason for this is the fact that some regional unions quit the parent union in connection with the establishment of the media employees union.

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POLITICAL

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

UNIVERSITY PRESIDENTS CLAIM ENROLLMENTS ARE UNDERESTIMATED

Bonn DIE WELT in German 7 Feb 86 p 10

[Article by Eberhard Nitschke: "University Presidents Deplore "Drastic Cuts"]

[Text] Bonn--The number of university students in the FRG and West Berlin has risen much more since 1975 than official statistics tend to indicate.

This is the result of a poll conducted by the West German Association of University Presidents in Bonn which asked 165 of its member institutions to provide information on their financial status. The survey found that the rise in the number of students between 1975 and 1983 did not amount to 43.6 percent as had previously been assumed but to 61 percent. According to the survey, there are 976,000 students enrolled at universities and another 276,000 at technical schools.

While the number of first-year students increased by 33 percent and that of university students overall rose by 43 percent, the number of faculty members increased by just 10 percent. Government support for the universities increased by 49 percent, the survey found but in real terms this amounts to a mere 20 percent "when compared to an average annual rise in the cost of living of only three percent."

The figures for the technical schools are even less encouraging where the number of first-year students increased by 60 percent during the same time period while the total student population rose by 90 percent. At the same time, the number of faculty members increased by just 3.5 percent. Once the rise in the cost of living is factored into the additional government support, those payments have registered an increase of just about 10 percent.

The survey findings were announced by Prof Theodor Berchem, the president of the West German University Presidents Association who deplored the fact that the policy of "drastic economy measures and cuts" at the universities has been going on for a good 10 years now. Temporary hiring freezes which did not show up in the official statistics, he said, have in effect resulted in as much as a four percent drop in the number of faculty members. Slight budget increases gave the appearance of growth but were in fact used up by the rise in costs which is particularly marked in the higher learning field,

he added. Between 1975 and 1983, costs for student and technical support personnel and for research contracts rose between 45 and 55 percent.

The survey also found that the so-called "efficiency reserves" in the higher learning field cited by the Laender finance ministries at regular intervals "have been used up during the long period of underfunded budgets and lowered personnel ceilings." In other words, there is no hope of setting free any such reserves by "programs of heightened efficiency" which are demanded over and over again. Should this policy continue, it would inevitably lead to a further loss of quality in education and research. 113 of the 165 member institutions responded to all the questions on the questionnaire and returned it to the association. According to the survey, Berlin was the only Land not affected by personnel freezes.

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POLITICAL

FINLAND

PAPER ON NAMING ESKO OLLILA FINANCE MINISTER

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 4 Feb 86 p 2

[Editorial by Inger Jagerhorn: "Esko Ollila Introduces Himself"; first paragraph is HUFVUDSTADSBLADET introduction]

[Text] The new finance minister, Esko Ollila, has already managed to make a statement about a sensitive question, namely taxation of bank deposits. Inger Jagerhorn comments in today's second editorial.

Our new finance minister since last Saturday, Esko Ollila, has said that he is going to begin carefully. He has, however, already managed to state, among other things, that the banks have too much power, and he has predicted that the subterfuges surrounding the sale of Oulu Oy can be expected to lead to a government crisis. Besides that, he has made a very controversial statement.

Specifically, Ollila raised the question of whether the tax-free status of bank deposits should be abolished. That is an old question which usually sets feelings seething, and the reactions have really been surprisingly feeble.

Savers are of course a patient breed who are accustomed to being stepped on, and they are also a little furtive, if one may say so. The interest which savers have received for their money has for a very long time been lower than inflation.

This has meant that savers have by no means been compensated for giving their money to the banks for further lending. The interest has not even been able to keep the original value of the capital intact, it has been nibbled away at the edges by inflation.

Now as we all know the situation has changed. The low rate of inflation means that for the first time savers can expect that the interest will be a real reward for saving, a real earnings possibility. And now, when the situation is finally brightening, the discussion of taxing is coming up!

The argument for the tax is as follows: a person can save in several different ways, and all should be equal in the eyes of the tax laws. Most people save just to have money in a bank account, some save to buy stocks, quite a few to buy bonds, and some in real estate of different kinds. (The so-called saving

for housing purposes involves simultaneous encumbering with debt, and is not a part of this discussion.)

Therefore one can earn money with money (capital) as one can earn money with labor. Why should one form of earning be tax-free and another not? Bank savings but not wages, bonds but not stock dividends?

And the arguments against the tax? There are mainly two: it is not easy to take an existing benefit away from people, in this case a tax-free benefit. And "people" in this case, furthermore, are a majority of the population. Most have some kind of a bank account, and feel imposed upon, actually threatened, by the proposal to tax. And secondly, taxing bank interest would mean that the taxing authorities would learn what people have in the bank. The previous basic bank secrecy would be violated.

This is what is really behind the reactions of those who say, "then I would rather keep my money in the mattress." Of course it is not just the savings that Ollila wants. If they tax the basic capital itself we are talking about something entirely different. Then we are talking about confiscation of property. But now we are talking about taxing the return of capital, the interest. And naturally not all the interest, just as we do not pay tax on all our wages. The effort is to make all forms of income equal.

To violate bank secrecy and allow sample investigations of accounts is a more difficult question. In the eyes of the common man that comes near to violating the sanctity of private life, nearly trespassing, to pry into people's savings. These attitudes can be very ingrained.

The ideas of the new finance minister are therefore controversial. They should be thoughtfully considered, but then one must begin at the right end: abolish tax-free bonds. This already requires a considerable transition period, as it is a question of long term investments.

Then after that one could begin discussing bank deposits. And in that case it could be conceivable to discuss deposits of considerable size, say over one hundred thousand marks, which can be compared with regular capital investments. The average ordinary bank saver's small account should be left alone. Furthermore it is of course obvious that any eventual tax should only be imposed on interest which is greater than the rate of inflation.

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POLITICAL

FRANCE

POLYNESIAN LIBERATION FRONT LEADER ON INDEPENDENCE

Paris ROUGE in French 16-22 Jan 86 p 13

[Interview with Oscar Temaru, leader of the Polynesian Liberation Front and mayor of the municipality of Faaa, by Vincent Kermel: 'The Idea of Independence Making Its Way'; date and place not given]

[Text] Oscar Temaru, leader of the FLP and mayor of the municipality of Faaa, passed through Paris last month. He outlined for us the situation in Tahiti and the response of the supporters of independence.

[Question] What is the principal characteristic of French colonial domination in Polynesia?

[Answer] France is a signatory of United Nations Resolution 1514, which includes a clause that condemns the establishment of military bases and even more nuclear testing in the Pacific. The latter is carried out without the agreement of our people. Following the independence of Algeria, the government decided to find another site for its nuclear tests and since 1963 we have seen our way of life disrupted by the arrival of this foreign military force. The economic, political and social systems have been changed. Up to then we had a rather balanced balance of trade. We lived from fishing and agriculture.

Since the arrival of the army, several families have left their native islands and have established themselves primarily in the municipality of Faaa. Those families, which arrived 20 years ago, have rented plots of land and are still living in precarious circumstances.

The municipality of Faaa has experienced a real demographic explosion tied to the massive arrival of the French army in Polynesia. In 1963 we had 3,000 inhabitants. In 1985 there are 23,000 of us, with all the social problems one can imagine.

[Question] In playing the devil's advocate, one may recall that the main argument in colonialist propaganda involves the so-called positive fallout of the French military presence on the Polynesian economy. What is the truth about this?

[Answer] An artificial economy can never be profitable, neither for the country nor for the people. The Polynesian colonial economy is artificial. There is nothing solid about it, and it does not correspond at all to the needs of the people. We are feeling the consequences of this situation. The army has recruited, and so has the administration. But the recruitment of policemen and teachers cannot go on indefinitely. That is absolutely not productive. And yet, that policy has been conducted in the territory at the expense of the primary sector: fishing and agriculture. That was done on purpose. The French government has done everything in its power to make us dependent on foreign countries. This is true for our food needs and other needs which were created even though they did not represent a necessity.

There are other problems such as the problem of education. After high school there is nothing in Tahiti. Our children have to go to France. And yet, there are opportunities for university studies in the Pacific, in Fiji, in Papua, New Guinea. But a student who earns a degree from those universities will not be able to practice in Tahiti. He needs a French diploma. So that a century after the annexation of Polynesia by France, Tahitian college graduates can be counted on one's fingers. We have only one Tahitian doctor for example.

[Question] What is the internal economic structure of Polynesia?

[Answer] The local commercial economy is in the hands of the Chinese. That immigration is an ancient one. But we are afraid of a new Chinese immigration from Hong-Kong; some people worry about the situation over there with the new statute expected for 1990. Immigration from everywhere, especially from France, is encouraged by the government as it is in New Caledonia. Furthermore, it is always the same political class which governs our country, that is to say the "halves."

[Question] What is the situation of the Polynesian independence movement?

[Answer] Since the establishment of the FLP in 1976 we have taken a major step forward. We were a small group described as a "tiny group." And for 3 years now we have held city hall in Faaa. The idea of independence is making its way. It appears in all conversations. Everyone talks about it.

[Question] Isn't there a risk that the autonomy status will progressively develop into a form of neo-colonial independence?

[Answer] While we are in favor of independence, we are also against what could be called neo-colonialism. Because if independence has to be achieved with the capitalists who live here, then we say "no." We want a profound change in our system of life. We reject the consumer society which has been imposed on us. We must base our economy on something much more realistic.

Hence, that danger actually does exist. Gaston Flosse, president of the government Council, used the antinuclear mobilization in March of last year to blackmail the president of the Republic. He aimed to obtain greater authority for the local institutions and more subsidies for his territorial government. It is a permanent institutional blackmail. Consequently, we are afraid that people from the right will use us for their neo-colonialist policy.

[Question] Would it be possible to speak of a Kanak impact on the Polynesian situation?

[Answer] At the time of the Kanaky events, the news had an impact in Polynesia. Many people have family in Kanaky and thus they follow the evolution of the situation over there very closely. Their reaction in this respect is very simple: what happens in Kanaky could also happen here. That helps the independence movement to move things forward in Polynesia.

[Question] There is a sizable Tahitian community in New Caledonia. How is it reacting to the events taking place in that country?

[Answer] I was invited to attend the FLNKS congress in Hienghene a few months ago, and I met several Tahitian families. Some of them have been established over there for more than 20 years and the majority come from the municipality of Faaa. The Tahitians living in the jungle have completely joined the Kanaks, except for a few families. Those living in Noumea are somewhat worried and anxious. I have talked with them and I understand their position. Even though they are in favor of independence, they cannot express themselves openly because they are afraid of the reactions of the people on the right.

"You have to understand us," they told me, "if we openly express our support for the New Caledonians, then we will have trouble with the Kanaks. If we state that we belong to the FLNKS, then it is the people from the right who come and burn down our houses. So that we prefer to wait and see and do nothing. But in our hearts we are with the Kanaks."

[Question] Are there any prospects of unification among the various independence seeking forces in Polynesia?

[Answer] We are going to work at it. That will not be a first attempt. We have already tried to get together, but without success. We hope that next March we will be able to bring everybody together. During our next congress we will ask the militants to establish the new independence Front.

[Question] What do you expect in terms of solidarity from the anti-colonialist militants in France, the labor movement and democrats in general, relative to your struggle?

[Answer] At the local level in Tahiti we have perhaps neglected the work of information in the direction of France. As contacts with the Kanaks multiplied, we found out that they were also supported by certain organizations in France. I draw a conclusion from my trip to the FRG: we must have contacts in France. I am very happy to have met Alain Krivine. We need support: financial, political and moral. We need help because in our struggle we are up against more than our match.

## Archipelago Under Domination

An archipelago of 4,000 square kilometers of land, consisting of 120 islands spread out over a vast expanse of ocean, representing 2 million square kilometers, Polynesia under French domination includes 170,000 inhabitants. A large number of them are concentrated on Tahiti. The artificial character of the colonial economy is illustrated by the importance of the non-productive sectors. In 1980, the tertiary sector, including the administration, represented 76 percent of the gross domestic product. Agricultural production is weak and mining resources limited, as is the manufacturing industry. On the other hand, tourism, imports-exports and the French military presence are important activities there. The Pacific Experimentation Center [CEP] alone represents 12 percent of the local salaried manpower (or 9,000 civilian and military employees), 55 percent of foreign financial support, and 28 percent of the imports.

The local population, 75 percent of which is Tahitian (Maori) also includes Chinese immigrants (10 percent) who hold the reins of trade. The "halves" or half-breeds who have adopted colonial behavior (15 percent) in turn have gathered political and administrative power for themselves.

Since 1982, Polynesia has been administered within the framework of an internal autonomy status comparable to that which provoked the revolt of the Kanaks in New Caledonia by a team behind Gaston Flosse, president of the local government with ties to the French RPR [Rally for the Republic]. This autonomy status strengthens the power of a local stratum of bourgeoisie which for the moment is not worried by a divided independence movement.

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POLITICAL

ITALY

PCI'S NAPOLITANO ON CONGRESS TASKS, USSR

'Appreciate Gorbachev's Innovations'

PM241153 Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian 16 Feb 86 pp 14-16

[Interview with PCI Directorate member Giorgio Napolitano by Giovanni Valentini; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Valentini] What specifically in this legislative term could lie beyond the horizon of the five-party coalition vis-a-vis parliamentary alignments?

[Napolitano] When we talk about a "program government" we are issuing an invitation to all the democratic forces, without any exclusions or preconceptions. The first job should be to draw up a list of problems whose urgency or importance demand very broad cooperation by the political forces; this should be accompanied by an assessment of the chances for agreement on what solutions to apply to these problems, that is, on a very limited program, and on what kind of government should implement it. Maybe nothing would come of it. But the attempt must be made, both because the five-party coalition no longer stands up and because there are some really pressing issues that cannot be resolved without an agreement with the Communist Party.

[Valentini] Is there a little nostalgia for the historical compromise behind this line of reasoning?

[Napolitano] As far as I am concerned, absolutely not. I am convinced that the conditions must be created as soon as possible for a political-cum-institutional dialectic similar to that which exists in all the other Western democratic countries. So we must work to ensure the free and untraumatic rotation of various political alignments in the country's leadership. However, we are in a phase that may demand transitional solutions, more or less emergency solutions more or less characterized by the influence of the institutional problems, though of course they are not the only ones that need to be solved.

[Valentini] Is there or is there not a difference between the "program government" and the "constitution government" proposed by Ingrao at your latest Central Committee session?

[Napolitano] A war of formulas is not what is needed. I hope that the party will not split over formulas at our congresses. What is needed is an endeavor to understand the substance of the issues worth debating--first and foremost the extent and nature of the institutional reforms to be carried out, and, more generally, the policy foundations on which to seek an understanding among various democratic forces for a government that will mark progress beyond the five-way coalition.

[Valentini] Looking at the medium- and long-term prospects, Mr Napolitano, what role could your forthcoming congress play?

[Napolitano] It can thoroughly qualify our party as a force which stands as a candidate for the country's government in a period of deep transformations which must be guided toward really progressive social objectives. This requires that we free ourselves of any residual ideas or attitudes that would move us in the opposite direction.

[Valentini] What attitudes, for instance?

[Napolitano] Attitudes too closely bound to the defense of obsolete positions and demands, whereas it is necessary substantially to reappraise the problems of development, labor, and the welfare state in relation to technological innovations, current international competition, links with the environment, the public finance crisis.... These are problems that must not be dodged by adhering to a stance of merely condemning the admittedly unacceptable policy pursued by the five-party coalition or by yielding to demagogic thrusts, or even by making unrealistic proposals (as in the energy field for instance.) Indeed we must overcome any tendency to remain confined to our old social stock or to pursue minority groups instead of throwing open the door of our party and our policy to new forces of skilled workers, experts, and intellectuals, new professional and entrepreneurial groups. It is on this that the significance of our congress depends--on this and also on our international image....

[Valentini] Yes, Mr Napolitano, foreign policy: You are surely not unaware that this remains the source of the greatest suspicions in your regard.

[Napolitano] We can demonstrate that external vetoes to the PCI's participation in government no longer stand up and that Italian political forces can no longer find any pretexts in our international position or our stances on Italian foreign policy. We consider ourselves an integral part of the European left: We are involved in a joint quest with major socialist and social democratic parties, from which we are not divided by any barriers of the past, especially in the foreign policy field.

[Valentini] But Natta's recent visit to Moscow gave the opposite impression, that is, of a revival of pro-Sovietism within the PCI.

[Napolitano] No, Natta went to Moscow--as Willy Brandt and Neil Kinnock have recently done--to speak on behalf of a major national democratic party and one of the most significant forces of the European left, which is fighting to assert an autonomous role for Europe without challenging the alliance with the United States.

[Valentini] But is there not a danger of nurturing too many hopes with regard to the "new course" introduced by Gorbachev?

[Napolitano] We have appreciated--and are certainly not the only ones to have done so--the innovations that Gorbachev has introduced into the style of Soviet politics and into the USSR's specific stances on the problems of detente and disarmament. There is no question of rooting for the Soviet Union again. However important we consider them, we do not identify even with the USSR's new disarmament proposals. Nor are we venturing an assessment regarding the possible actual developments of the policy of regeneration inaugurated by Gorbachev in the Soviet Union. We are watching with interest and objectivity the good and innovative things that are developing, imparting to our relations with the CPSU a new, entirely political, nonideological character and standing firm on our complete autonomy of assessment.

[Valentini] With regard to democracy, another "Cossutta case" seems to have exploded within the PCI, with a tendency to shift internal dissent to the disciplinary plane.

[Napolitano] No, there is no intention to use disciplinary suppression. This is the first time in the PCI's history that leadership members have stood by their amendments to congress theses even after their rejection by the Central Committee. We have broken the taboo whereby disputes originated and were closed within the leadership group. But now we want to prevent the organization of currents and factions--and in the cause of the presentation of Cossutta's book in Milan, it was undoubtedly an organized demonstration.

#### Napolitano Clarifies Response

PM261553 Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian 23 Feb 86 p 177

[Letter from PCI Directorate member Giorgio Napolitano: "Cossutta and the PCI"]

[Text] The wording of my reply to the last question in the interview published in issue No 6 of L'ESPRESSO may have caused a misunderstanding which I would like to dispel. The event organized in Milan to launch Cossutta's book caused us to worry about the introduction into the pre-congress debate--whose complete freedom we all want to fully guarantee--of elements of growing crystallization and opposition likely to encourage the formation of currents and factions.

In other words, I did not intend to define the Milan initiative as an explicit meeting of a current but was identifying in it worrying elements of a tendency which, unless combated, could lead to such outcomes.

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CSO: 3528/100

POLITICAL

ITALY

PCI, PSI OFFICIALS WEIGH GORBACHEV REPORT

Interview With PSI's Martelli

PM281143 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 27 Feb 86 p 5

[Interview with PSI Deputy Secretary Claudio Martelli by Albert Jacoviello in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] [Jacoviello] This is the first time that representatives of communist and socialist parties have sat down side by side at a congress of the Communist Party of a country directly or indirectly responsible for the split that occurred in the socialist movement 7 decades ago. What impression did this extraordinary and perhaps symbolic fact make on you?

[Martelli] Actually this is not the first time for us Italian Socialists. I cannot now tell you the date but certainly it did happen before, in Nenni's time. However, it certainly has not happened for many years. I should remind you that the Soviets attended our congresses even during the Craxi period and despite the violent and furious controversies launched by PRAVDA under various circumstances and for various reasons, especially at the time of Italy's decision to deploy the missiles on our territory.

[Jacoviello] Why did you agree to come this time?

[Martelli] Our decision has to do with curiosity, a desire to find out about the new things happening here. Perhaps one would have to go back to the Khrushchev era to find a similar situation. So it is natural for us to want to listen to the new CPSU general secretary--who represents an innovative element in the Soviet Union's leadership--to discover how he expresses himself and what he thinks.

[Jacoviello] So now that you have heard him can you give me an initial assessment particularly regarding the part of his report that concerns the state of the world, so to speak?

[Martelli] The general impression is certainly interesting. Gorbachev spoke a new language to some extent. But let us consider in what way. While the part devoted to a kind of sketch of the state of mankind seemed to me marked by a strong ideological stance, in subsequent sections, in connection with both domestic and foreign policy, I believe I perceived some different points from in the past....

[Jacoviello] But many people considered it important that the CPSU general secretary recognized that in the world we are living in no single country or group of countries can aspire to solve the problems on its own. Did this not make the same impression on you?

[Martelli] Yes, this threat runs right through the report and represents not merely a reaffirmation of but an outright new momentum, in grand style, for peaceful coexistence. In this respect I find the political part much more interesting than the ideological part.

[Jacoviello] It seems to me, however, that there is an outright change of viewpoint in the reappraisal of world affairs.

[Martelli] This is true. But with regard to what I said earlier, I want to admit to you that the person I was most reminded of was Pope Wojtyla--great rigorousness in defense of the Catholic religion but at the same time great political flexibility. The same can be said of Gorbachev--on the one hand a great dogmatic rigidity and on the other a great political open-mindedness.

[Jacoviello] You compare Gorbachev to Pope Wojtyla; I once compared him to Dubcek and on another occasion to John Kennedy. What is he really like?

[Martelli] The comparison with John Kennedy seems inappropriate except in the very general sense that Gorbachev too aims to reform the system without changing it. But in that respect one could cite all kinds of people.

[Jacoviello] Do you have any criticisms to make of Gorbachev's report apart from your rejection of its dogmatic aspect?

[Martelli] Well, I must say that one is somewhat shocked to hear that the socialist world is the cradle of humanism when what we are talking about are regimes such as those of Jaruzelski, Husak, or Kadar, or about Afghanistan....

[Jacoviello] So you perceive a number of good things and a number of bad things?

[Martelli] I am certainly not persuaded to alter my verdict on the system. In any case, I ought to point out that there is a surprising total absence of criticism of the foreign policy conducted by the USSR, alongside a number of criticisms of domestic policy. After all the Soviet missiles were deployed when the Carter administration was in power in America and when governments in Europe were not hostile to the USSR.

[Jacoviello] Now Gorbachev says he went to dismantle them....

[Martelli] That is true but it is difficult not to believe that it is due to the show of weaponry made by the West in recent years rather--in the absence of any critical observations--than to a new course in Soviet military policy.

[Jacoviello] There is a widespread impression that the wide representation of socialist parties could mark the beginning of a more general reappraisal of the state of the workers movement, not just of the so-called communist movement. If the Soviets were to do what Giorgio Amendola once proposed when he said that the two wings of the workers movement had each committed 50 percent of the mistakes so it would be preferable to meet each other half-way, how would Italian Socialists respond?

[Martelli] I do not believe there were any such indications in Gorbachev's report. The language adopted was one of a general, albeit kind, appreciation of our role and an appeal for the joint defense of peace.

[Jacoviello] Have you had a chance to exchange ideas with representatives of other socialist parties and to gather their impressions of the congress?

[Martelli] I have not had time. I would like to point out, however, that the highest-ranking delegations are the French and Italian. But perhaps this is the result of the direct contacts that have taken place between Gorbachev on the one hand and Mitterrand and Craxi on the other. Be that as it may, it is our intention to take every opportunity for contacts and dialogue with the new Soviet leaders.

Commentary by PCI's Bufalini

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[PCI Directorate Member Paolo Bufalini commentary: "That Famous 'Propulsive Thrust'"]

[Text] The opening of the 27th CPSU Congress, with the sharp swing imparted by Comrade Gorbachev's report, reminds us of the 20th congress, of the great event of 30 years ago. However, there are some profound differences. Of course the new CPSU general secretary is shaking things up, issuing a cogent critique of the 20-year Brezhnev era, and vigorously and resolutely reintroducing the antihetrical and antidogmatic style and climate, the spirit of clarity and truth. The swing imparted by Khrushchev was more dramatic--Gorbachev's is more cautious and calmer but, perhaps precisely because the time is more than ripe and in fact there has been a serious delay, it is more far-reaching.

Gorbachev's approach is split between two interconnected levels--the need for a domestic "radical reform" and the development of a bold and consistent international initiative for arms reduction accords and peaceful coexistence.

On the domestic plane--and first and foremost on the socioeconomic plane but also, albeit less directly and more vaguely, on the cultural and even the political plane--Gorbachev's report reveals new elements and pointers of which there was no trace in the 20th congress. At that time, in that unforgettable congress of 1956, the dominant issue was the "violations of socialist legality," "Stalin's personality cult," the Stalinist leadership's "noncooperative" or "despotic methods." There was a dramatically urgent need to release

the victims of a huge and tragic repression from the hard labor camps and prisons and also to rehabilitate the dead, to deal fairly with their memory.

Khrushchev also issued an extraordinarily vigorous indictment of the dominant inefficiencies and dogmatism. But he was unable to go beyond that. The repercussions ensued, and then the long gloomy and stagnant Brezhnev period.

#### Market Reassessed

Gorbachev, however, is not only talking about "reform"--and "radical" reform--for the first time in the CPSU but is also issuing important pointers. In planning, the role of a central leadership is to define only the major general guidelines, overall proportions and balances; but it must not interfere at lower levels of the economy. For the rest the sights are being set on the initiative and autonomous responsibility of grassroots and provincial enterprises and bodies. It is clearly asserted that all earnings--for each individual worker, each enterprise or cooperative--must be proportional to the qualitative and quantitative yield of the work done.

There is a reassessment of the market's function as a yardstick of efficiency and productivity. There is the assertion of the need for self-management and democratic supervision in the heart of the production organization and in social life. There is unqualified criticism of "the pedantry, dogmatism, and formalism that have caused, and are still causing, a stagnation of thinking." There is condemnation of persisting instances of conservative resistance within the party, which must be overcome to bridge the gap between the party and the country's great energies.

All these pointers are aimed at encouraging the citizens' initiative, interest, and broadest participation in the production process and in the process of economic and social deliberation, decision-making, and supervision. Of course when we talk about (political) democracy and socialism we mean something broader and different but we do not presume to dictate our own model to others. Nevertheless we believe that the major issue of the political rights and civil liberties that must be guaranteed in a socialist system remains unresolved.

#### The Reply to PRAVDA

May I now be permitted to point out, however, that when we Italian communists spoke, following the grave Polish crisis, of the "exhaustion of the propulsive thrust of the models which emerged from the October Revolution" we clarified the significance of this in a lengthy document published by L'UNITA on 27 January 1983 ("reply to PRAVDA"). It contains the following passages, among others: "...in the most varied forms--on the basis of the conditions that have come about during the course of history in each country--democracy and socialist must be united: both democracy within the production process and at the same time political democracy. The major innovations of the 20th PSU Congress demanded reforms that would proceed in this direction.... But progress has been made along this path: in fact there has been a standstill and, we believe, even a regression. We are convinced that if the Communist Party in these countries succeeds in leading a properly directed process of

reform, crises will be averted and it is our desire to help, through our criticisms and sincere deliberations, encourage this task of regeneration...." Now Gorbachev's sharp condemnation of the long stagnation accompanied by degenerative processes confirms the correctness of the stance we adopted at that time.

Of course the "reform" advocated by Gorbachev is encountering and will continue to encounter major resistance and obstacles. We do not naively delude ourselves. However, it should be borne in mind that after such a delay the "reform" presents itself to the Soviet Union as a necessity that cannot be evaded or put off. Gorbachev's argument derives truth and intrinsic strength from this. We want to emphasize its great worth.

The political initiative that the Soviet Union is developing internationally with the aim of shifting the quest for security (for all) from the military to the political field is of supreme importance. At the same time as Gorbachev issues a searing indictment of the Reagan administration's and the imperialist forces' responsibilities in the pursuit of new objectives of rearmament (particularly "star wars") and of the material and political influence of the U.S. military industrial bloc, he is again proposing to everyone--first and foremost to the United States and Reagan--a strategy of disarmament and peaceful coexistence based on solid and clear points. Mankind has reached a crossroads: either it takes the path of accords for arms reduction leading to the elimination of nuclear weapons (based on parity at lower and lower levels) or it proceeds further along a path on which not even parity of nuclear deterrents can ensure peace and free mankind from the threat and nightmare of catastrophe. Nobody can believe in winning a nuclear war just as nobody can believe in winning the arms race. The path of accords on arms reduction and peaceful coexistence is also in the interests of the American nation and of all mankind. Reagan's counterproposals, Gorbachev says, tend to create new obstacles; they will nevertheless be carefully examined by the Soviet Union, which keeps the dialogue open and which, though aware of the serious difficulties, set its sights on negotiation and the possibility of finding major points of agreement. At the same time Gorbachev emphasizes the role of Europe, of the five major powers of the UN Security Council, and of all the peace forces and initiatives. He sets all this within the context of a universal humanist view of the use of scientific and technical gains and of resources. Partly because of this crucial aspect we want to stress that Soviet policy is now oriented toward the necessity and possibility of negotiated solutions and accords--and, of course, in order to safeguard peace, accords with the adversary. Specific proposals and stances remain to be discussed, but one cannot deny that in this direction the USSR is not conducting propaganda but one cannot itself and everyone objectives which it considers difficult, but necessary and feasible.

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